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Tibetan Texts of *Garbhāvakrāntisūtra*: Differences and Borrowings

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Garbhāvakrāntisūtra (“Scripture on the Entry into the Womb”) is a Buddhist text that describes the rebirth process. It begins by explaining the conditions necessary for conception and why a woman might fail to conceive. It then describes the oedipal fantasies of the transmigrating being and its state of mind as it enters its mother’s womb. The heart of the *sūtra* is a very detailed, week-by-week account of the 38 weeks of gestation, which is followed by descriptions of both miscarriage and successful childbirth. The remainder of the text is devoted to the suffering that befalls the newborn, including infestation by worms, attack by demons, and affliction by many illnesses.

The longer versions of the *sūtra* also include a variety of additional topics, most notably an exposition of the four different ways of entering the womb. The first three types of *garbhāvakrānti* are those of virtuous people, some of whom are aware while entering, dwelling in, and emerging from the womb, some while entering and dwelling, and some only while entering. The fourth is that of the unvirtuous person, who loses his memory and awareness at the moment of death in the previous lifetime and is unaware at all three stages.

Garbhāvakrāntisūtra is significant for a number of reasons. Its description of gestation is the most detailed in Indian medical and religious literature. Moreover, it appears to be the first account divided into thirty-eight weeks; the nine-month account in the medical literature and in non-Buddhist religious texts is the norm. The *sūtra* seems to have both influenced and been influenced by the Indian medical tradition, with which it perhaps shared common sources (see Kritzer “Life”). The text also illustrates certain Buddhist attitudes toward the body: its detailed and pejorative descriptions of the mother’s vagina are representative of the more misogynistic strains of Buddhist asceticism (see Kritzer “Childbirth”).

The *sūtra* is also important as a source for descriptions of rebirth in Buddhist texts, including: meditation texts such as the *Yogācārabhūmi* of Saṃgharakṣa (*Hsiu-hsing tao-ti ching* 修行道地經, translated by Dharmarakṣa, and *Tao-ti ching* 道地經, translated by An Shih-kao); *abhidharma* texts such as the *Vibhāṣā* (*A-p’i -ta-mo ta p’i-p’o-sha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論), *Pañcavastukavibhāṣāśāstra* (*Wu-shih p’i-p’o-sha lun* 五事毘婆沙論), and *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (*Api-ta-mo chü-she lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論); *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yü-ch’ieh shih-ti lun* 瑜伽師地論) (see Yamabe; Kritzer “*Garbhāvakrāntau*”).

Furthermore, together with Vāgbhaṭa’s *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, *Garbhāvakrāntisūtra* is one of the most important Indian texts for Tibetan embryology (Garrett 23-31). In particular, it is the main source for Tibetan theories of winds as a primary factor in fetal

development (Garrett 146-148).

Unfortunately, there are only a few Sanskrit fragments of the *sūtra* available in the form of quotations in *abhidharma* and Yogācāra texts, but there are six translations, three in Chinese and three in Tibetan. De Jong has pointed out that the various translations must be carefully compared in order to clarify differences among the versions of the text, and this paper is a preliminary attempt to do just that.

Table 1—Translations of *Garbhāvākṛāntisūtra*

Title	Translator	Date
<i>Pao-t'ai ching</i> 胞胎經 (T. 317)	Dharmarakṣa (Chu fa-hu 竺法護)	281 or 303
<i>Fo wei a-nan shuo ch'u-t'ai hui</i> 佛爲阿難說處胎會 (<i>Ratnakūṭasūtra</i> [T. 310, no. 13])	Bodhiruci (P'u-t'i-liu-chih 菩提流志)	703-713
<i>Tshe dan ldan pa dga' bo la mñal du 'jug pa bstan pa</i> (Translation of <i>Ch'u-t'ai hui</i>) Tohoku 58	Chos grub (Chinese name Fa-ch'eng 法成)	ninth century
<i>Fo shuo ju-t'ai-tsang hui</i> 佛說入胎藏會 (<i>Ratnakūṭasūtra</i> [T. 310, no. 14])(also found in the <i>Mūlasarvāstivādinayakṣudrakavastu</i> [T. 1451: 251a14-262a19])	I-ching 義淨	710
<i>Dga' bo la mñal na gnas pa bstan pa</i> (Translation of <i>Ju-t'ai-tsang hui</i>) Tohoku 57	Unknown (perhaps Chos grub)	ninth century
<i>Mñal du 'jug pa zēs bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grāṇs</i> (found in the Tibetan <i>Mūlasarvāstivādinayakṣudrakavastu</i>) Tohoku 6	Vidyākara, Dharmasribhadra, and Dpal 'byor	ninth century

Pao-t'ai ching is by far the earliest version of the *sūtra* that we have. It is very different from the other versions, and the Chinese is difficult to read and probably corrupt in places. Although it is very important for the study of the *sūtra*, I will not discuss it in this paper.

Bodhiruci's translation, *Ch'u-t'ai hui*, is said to be a translation of the same Sanskrit text that underlies *Pao-t'ai ching*.¹ However, there are many differences between the two. For example, while *Pao-t'ai ching* calls the interlocutor Nanda four times at the beginning of the text before changing to Ānanda, *Ch'u-t'ai hui* is consistent in using Ānanda throughout. Furthermore, *Ch'u-t'ai hui* includes a pair of verses in its account of Week 13 of gestation that are not found in *Pao-t'ai ching*. These and other differences

¹ See, for example, *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lun* 開元釋教錄 (T. 2154: 586c20-12).

make it seem unlikely that the two are translations of the same text.² In many respects *Ch'u-t'ai hui* is more similar to I-ching's translation, *Ju-t'ai ching*.³ Chos grub or Fa-ch'eng, the famous Chinese translator based for much of his career in Tunhuang, translated Bodhiruci's Chinese text into Tibetan (Tohoku 58).⁴ All the editions of this translation contain the phrase *mñal du 'jug pa bstan pa* ("the teaching about entering into the womb") in their titles,⁵ but this phrase does not correspond to the Chinese title, which can be translated as "the chapter on dwelling in the womb." Conversely, the title of the Tibetan translation (Tohoku 57) of I-ching's Chinese translation ("the chapter on entering the womb") generally contains the element *mñal na gnas pa bstan pa* ("the teaching on dwelling in the womb").⁶ Thus, it seems likely that the Tibetan compilers of the *Ratnakūṭa* mistakenly switched the titles of the two texts. Because of this confusion of titles, I refer for the sake of clarity to the two Tibetan translations from Chinese by their Tohoku numbers: Tohoku 58 is the translation of *Ch'u-t'ai hui*, while Tohoku 57 is the translation of *Ju-t'ai ching*.

I-ching's translation of the *sūtra* was originally part of his translation of *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*. Bodhiruci also inserted it into his compilation of *Ratnakūṭa*, and these two versions are almost, but not completely, identical. A comparison of the Tibetan translation (Tohoku 57) with the two Chinese versions shows that Tohoku 57 was based on the version in *Ratnakūṭa*. According to Ueyama Daishun, the Tibetan translation of *Ju-t'ai ching* also may well have been Chos grub's work ("Dai Bankoku," 178). It seems as though this is the version of the *sūtra* best known in Tibet.

Finally, the Tibetan translation that is found in *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* (Tohoku 6) is the only one made directly from the Sanskrit. I refer to this text, too, by its Tohoku number. Currently I am preparing a critical edition and annotated translation of this version, which is the longest extant version in either Tibetan or Chinese. The language of this translation is more difficult to read than that of the other two, and it contains a considerable number of archaic words and words not found in any dictionaries.

An examination of the extant texts suggests that there are two basic versions (or groups of versions) of the *sūtra*, a longer and a shorter one.

² A detailed discussion of these differences will be included in the introduction to my forthcoming translation of the version of the *sūtra* in Tohoku 6.

³ Although *Fo shuo ju-t'ai-tsang hui* 佛說入胎藏會 is the title of the chapter of *Ratnakūṭa* that contains the *sūtra*, the *sūtra* proper is referred to in both versions of I-ching's translation as *Ju mu-t'ai ching* 入母胎經 (T. 1451: 253a21; T. 310 no. 14: 328a9) and *Ju-t'ai ching* 入胎經 (T. 1451: 260b29; T. 310 no. 14: 335b1). For convenience, I use the short title *Ju-t'ai ching* in this article.

⁴ Tohoku 58 and Tohoku 57 are catalogued as separate texts in some Kanjurs but as chapters of *Ratnakūṭa* in others. For details, see bibliography.

⁵ The full titles are as follows: NFS *dga' bo mñal du 'jug pa bstan pa źes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; P *'phags pa tshe dan ldan pa / dga' bo mñal du 'jug pa bstan pa źes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; D *'phags pa tshe dan ldan pa dga' bo la mñal du 'jug pa bstan pa źes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*.

⁶ The full titles are as follows: P *'phags pa dga' bo mñal na gnas pa bstan pa źes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; D *'phags pa dga' bo la mñal na gnas pa bstan pa źes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; N *bcuñ mo'u dga' bo źes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; S *gcuñ mo'u dga' bo źes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; F *tshe ldan pa dga' bo mñal na gnas pa bstan pa źes bya ba / theg pa chen po'i mdo*.

Table 2—Versions of the *sūtra*

Short version:
1. <i>Pao-t'ai ching</i> (about 4.6 Taishō pages)
2. <i>Ch'u-t'ai hui</i> (about 4.3 Taishō pages)
2a. <i>Mñal du 'jug pa bstan pa</i> (Tohoku 58: about 11 folios [22 sides] in Derge edition)
Long version:
1. Tohoku 6 (about 28.6 folios)
2. <i>Ju-t'ai ching</i> (about 7.3 Taishō pages)
2a. <i>Mñal na gnas pa bstan pa</i> (Tohoku 57: about 21.3 folios)

As usual, we do not know the dates of the Sanskrit texts on which these translations are based. *Pao-t'ai ching* and *Ch'u-t'ai hui* are said to be based on the same Sanskrit text and seem to represent an earlier version or versions. *Ju-t'ai ching* and Tohoku 6 are definitely translations of somewhat different Sanskrit texts. We do not know which Sanskrit text was earlier, but on the principle of “longer equals later,” we might suppose that *Ju-t'ai ching* was based on an earlier text than Tohoku 6.

To give some idea of the differences among the versions, I provide the text of the explanations of the second week of gestation in the three Tibetan translations. The different lengths of the passage are typical of the different translations. The wordiness and repetitiveness of Tohoku 6 is evident at a glance: it uses more than twice as many near-synonyms as the other two translations to describe the “cooking” of the embryo in the womb.

Table 3—Account of Gestation, Week 2

Tohoku 6	<p><i>dga' bo žag bdun pa gñis pa la ni / mñal gyi zug rñu mi gtsaṅ ba rul pa rab tu 'bar ba'i 'dam gyi naṅ na 'dug pa lus kyi dbaṅ po thams cad rab tu tsha ba / śin tu mi bzad pa daṅ / dog pa daṅ / ñam ña bar gyur pa sdug bsñal bar ro gcig pa'i rnam par śes pa can de la ma'i ltor naṅ gi rluṅ sñon gyi las kyi rnam par smin pa las skyes pa kun sdud ces bya ba dag ldaṅ ste / de'i reg pas mñal gyi zug rñu de mer mer por 'gyur ro //</i></p> <p><i>dga' bo de la mer mer po'i raṅ bžin ji lta bu že na / dga' bo dper na / žo 'am mar mkhraṅ po lta bu ste / mer mer po ni de lta bu'i raṅ bžin yin no //</i></p> <p><i>de der žag bdun du gnas śiṅ / de žag bdun po der gduṅ ba daṅ / kun tu gduṅ ba daṅ / tsha ba daṅ / kun tu tsha ba daṅ / yoṅs su tsha bar 'gyur te / de la sa'i khams ni sra ba ñid du / chu'i khams ni gśer ba ñid du / me'i khams ni dro ba ñid du / rluṅ gi khams ni yaṅ žiṅ g.yo ba ñid du ñe bar gnas so //</i></p>
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Tohoku 57	<i>dga' bo žag bdun phrag gñis pa la ma'i mñal na mi gtsaṅ ba'i gnas su 'di lta ste / dper na zaṅs kyi naṅ du btsos śiṅ brños pa bžin du lus kyi dbaṅ po daṅ rnam par śes pa lhan cig tu sdug bsñal mi bzad pa myoṅ ba na ma'i mñal nas kun tu reg pa žes bya ba'i rluṅ sñon kyi las kyi dbaṅ gis raṅ byuṅ nas mñal de la reg pa gaṅ yin pa de ni nur nur po žes bya'o // de'i dbyis ni žo ska ba'am / mar 'khyags pa 'dra ste / žag bdun gyi bar du <u>btsos rab tu btsos pas</u> na khamś bži po dag mñon du snaṅ bar 'gyur ro //</i>
Tohoku 58	<i>žag bdun phrag gñis pa la ma'i mñal du gnas pa'i tshe las kyi rluṅ mñon par grub pa gaṅ yin pa de ni kun sdud ces bya ste rluṅ śin tu phra mo des ma'i rtsib logs g.yon pa daṅ / g.yas pa bus te mer mer po'i lus kyi mtshan ma rim gyis snaṅ bar byed pas de'i dbyibs žo ska ba'am / mar 'khyags pa 'dra ste / mñal gyi naṅ du <u>btsos / rab tu btsos pas</u> nur nur po'i lus su gyur nas 'di ltar 'byuṅ ba chen po bži po dag mthar gyis mñon par grub par byed do //</i>

The remainder of this article is essentially a comparison of several passages in the two Tibetan translations from the Chinese and the two Chinese texts that are the bases of the translations. Scholarly interest in Tibetan translations from Chinese has been focused for the most part on the fact that the Tibetan used in the translations is often quite different from the Tibetan (broadly speaking, the vocabulary prescribed by *Mahāvvyutpatti*) used in translations from Sanskrit. Stein analyzes in detail some of the translations from the Chinese, and he identifies examples of what he calls “Chinese vocabulary” in contrast to the “Indian vocabulary” found in texts translated after Khri lde sroṅ btsan’s edict of 814, in which the standardization of the translation vocabulary was decreed (152). For example, the standard Tibetan translation of *saṃsāra* is *'khor ba*, while in a number of texts translated from Chinese, the word *skye śi*, a literal translation of the Chinese *sheng-ssu* 生死 (“birth and death”) appears (Stein 174-175). In the case of the *Garbhāvakraṅtisūtra*, neither of the translations from Chinese seems to contain what Stein refers to as the “Chinese” vocabulary.⁷ However, Tohoku 57 and Tohoku 58 are of interest for what they may tell us about Tibetan translation practices in Tunhuang in the early ninth century.

In many cases, I believe, differences between Tohoku 57 and 58 and the Chinese translations on which they are based reflect the translator’s reliance on another text, not the one he is supposedly translating. There are many possibilities, including: the other Chinese text (e.g., the translator of *Ju-t'ai ching* may have been looking at *Ch'u-t'ai hui* and translated what he found there rather than in *Ju-t'ai ching*); one of the other Tibetan translations (e.g., the translator of *Ju-t'ai ching* may have preferred a reading from Tohoku 58 or from Tohoku 6); a Sanskrit manuscript, of the text from which the Chinese translation had been made, the text from which Tohoku 6 had been translated, or yet

⁷ I have not read Tohoku 57 and Tohoku 58 in their entirety, but the portions that I have read seem to conform to Stein’s observation that Chos-grub generally follows the dictates of *Mahāvvyutpatti* (149).

another Sanskrit version of the text, unknown to us. Of course, there are also differences that are mere mistakes or that simply reflect the translator's idiosyncratic understanding of the Chinese.

However, I believe that in most cases when a difference between a Chinese translation and its corresponding Tibetan is attributable to reliance on a different text, the Tibetan translator has deliberately accepted either the wording or the general meaning of the corresponding passage in Tohoku 6. In the following, I discuss a number of passages in Tohoku 58 and Tohoku 57 that appear to rely on another text.

Tohoku 58

Differences between Tohoku 58 and *Ch'u-t'ai hui* can be more or less convincingly explained as reflecting influence from Tohoku 6. When the reading in Tohoku 58 disagrees with *Ch'u-t'ai hui* but agrees with several other translations in addition to Tohoku 6, the influence of Tohoku 6 is less definite. When Tohoku 58 agrees only with Tohoku 6, the influence is fairly clear.

In the first group of passages, Tohoku 58 differs from *Ch'u-t'ai hui* but agrees with all other versions.

Table 4—Passages in Tohoku 58 that disagree with *Ch'u-t'ai hui* (1)
Differences *probably* explainable by the reliance of Tohoku 58 on Tohoku 6

	Tohoku 58	<i>Ch'u-t'ai hui</i> (處胎會)	<i>Ju-t'ai ching</i> (入胎經)	Tohoku 57	Tohoku 6
interlocutor	<u>Nanda</u> (dga' bo)	<u>Ānanda</u> (阿難)	<u>Nanda</u> (難陀)	<u>Nanda</u> (dga' bo)	<u>Nanda</u> (dga' bo)
fault of the womb	oppressed by phlegm (<i>bad kan...gis ñe bar non par gyur</i> —237b1 [all references are to the Derge edition unless otherwise noted])	(missing)	having phlegm (或有黃病痰癰—T. 1451: 253b16; T. 310 no. 14: 328b4)	affected by phlegm (<i>bad kan gyis yons su zin par gyur</i> —211b7)	oppressed by phlegm (<i>bad kan gyis bgags pa</i> —126a1)

fault of the womb	filled with <u>medicine</u> (<i>smān gyis gan ba</i> —237b1-2)	has salty disease (有鹹 ⁸ 病—T. 310 no. 13: 322b1)	taking <u>medicine</u> (服藥—T. 1451: 253b17; T. 310 no. 14: 328b5)	taking <u>medicine</u> (<i>smān thungs</i> —212a1)	altered by <u>medicine</u> (<i>smān gyis bsgyur ba</i> —126a1)
Week 15	the 20,000 channels in the front of the body are called <i>sa ga</i> or <i>sa ka</i> (<i>lus kyi mdun na yod pa ñi khri ni sa ga</i> [FPS <i>ka</i>] <i>žes bya'o</i> —241a5) { <i>sa ga</i> and <i>sa ka</i> probably are transliterations of Sanskrit <i>sakha</i> (<u>Companion</u>) }	the 20,000 channels in the front of the body are called Conch (<i>shang ch'ia</i>) (身前二萬名曰商佉—T. 310 no. 13: 323c12) { <i>shang ch'ia</i> probably is a transliteration of Sanskrit <i>śaṅkha</i> }	(the five types of channels in the front of the body) are called <u>Companion</u> (或名伴 T. 1451: 254c28; T. 310 no. 14: 329c9)	(the five types of channels in the front of the body) are called <i>sa ga</i> or <i>sa ka</i> (<i>min ni sa ga</i> [PS <i>ka</i>] <i>žes kyañ bya</i> —216a2) { <i>sa ga</i> and <i>sa ka</i> probably are transliterations of Sanskrit <i>sakha</i> (<u>Companion</u>) }	there are channels called <u>Companion</u> (<i>grogs žes bya ba yod</i> —132a3)

In these cases, it is clear that Tohoku 58 does not correspond with the Chinese text that it is supposed to be translating. It is possible that Chos grub relied on either *Ju-t'ai ching* or its Tibetan translation. My working hypothesis is that Chos grub translated Tohoku 57 as well, in which case, even if he had translated Tohoku 58 first, he would most likely have already been familiar with the readings of *Ju-t'ai ching*, and if he had translated Tohoku 57 first, he would have had his own translation to refer to. So it is not impossible that *Ju-t'ai ching* or Tohoku 57 is the source of his translation in Tohoku 58.

However, as we can see below, there are other cases in which the reading in Tohoku 58 can only be explained with reference to Tohoku 6, which strongly suggests that it, too, was available to Chos grub. It is possible that the greater length of Tohoku 6, and the fact that it was already translated into Tibetan, prompted Chos grub to give it more authority than the Chinese texts he was translating. Therefore in these passages, Tohoku 6 is probably the ultimate source of the reading in Tohoku 58.

Thus, in the third example, my supposition is that Chos grub must have seen “salty disease” but been aware that, according to Tohoku 6, the condition had something

⁸ The Koryō Tripiṭaka reads 鹹 for 鹹 (K 22 [13]: 455a20.) I am indebted to Karashima Seishi for this information.

to do with medicine. As we can see, the translation “filled with medicine” does not correspond precisely with “altered by medicine” in Tohoku 6. This could mean that the source is a translation or manuscript unknown to us. However, the “fault of the womb” mentioned immediately before this one is described as “the space is filled with flesh” (*mtshams śas gaṇ ba*) in both Tohoku 58 and Tohoku 6, and the word “filled with” (*gaṇ ba*) may have been repeated in Tohoku 58 under the influence of the previous item.

The next passage is somewhat more certainly influenced by Tohoku 6.

Table 5—Passages in Tohoku 58 that disagree with *Ch'u-t'ai hui* (2)
Difference *very probably* explainable by the reliance of Tohoku 58 on Tohoku 6

	Tohoku 58	<i>Ch'u-t'ai hui</i> (處胎會) [<i>Ju-t'ai ching</i> is identical]	Tohoku 57	Tohoku 6
fault of the womb	<u>center is like barley</u> (<i>dbus nas 'dra ba</i>)	has barley belly disease (麥腹病)	<u>center is like barley</u> (<i>dbus nas 'dra ba</i>)	<u>center is like barley</u> (<i>dbus nas 'dra ba</i>)

In this case, the two Chinese translations agree. It appears as though both Tohoku 57 and Tohoku 58 have adopted the reading from Tohoku 6 or perhaps from a Sanskrit manuscript on which Tohoku 6 was based. Thus, the translator or translators of both Tohoku 58 and Tohoku 57 rejected “barley belly” disease in favor of a condition in which the center of the womb is like barley. The only extant full text of the *sūtra* with such a reading is Tohoku 6, although an abbreviated quotation from the *sūtra* in *Yogācārabhūmi* also suggests that center of the womb is being compared to a seed or grain.⁹

⁹ *saced yonir vātopastabdhā bhavati pitto pastabdhā vā tilamadhyā vā...* (*Yogācārabhūmi* 22.2-3; for a discussion of this passage, the Chinese and Tibetan translations of which mention barley as well as sesame, see Kritzer “*Garbhāvakraṇtau*”).

Finally, the following passages definitely seem to have been influenced by Tohoku 6.

Table 6—Passages in Tohoku 58 that disagree with *Ch'u-t'ai hui* (3)
Differences *almost certainly* explainable by the reliance of Tohoku 58 on Tohoku 6

	Tohoku 58	<i>Ch'u-t'ai hui</i> (處胎會)	Tohoku 6
name of wind, Week 2	All- <u>uniting</u> (<i>kun sdud</i>)	All-completing (遍滿)	All- <u>uniting</u> (<i>kun sdud</i>)
Week 36	since the fetus gives rise to a thought of <u>emerging</u> (from the womb), it becomes unhappy (<i>de 'byuñ ba'i bsaṃ pa skye baṃ mñon par mi dga' bar 'gyur ro</i> —244a5)	the fetus gives rise to a thought of weariness and is unhappy (生厭離心不以爲樂—T. 310 no. 13: 324c19)	wishing to <u>emerge</u> , the fetus is unhappy (<i>de 'byuñ 'dod ciñ mñon par mi dga'o</i> —136b2)
Week 37	the last of five un mistaken notions is the notion of <u>emerging</u> due to being weary (<i>yoñs su skyo nas phyir 'byuñ ba'i 'du śes skye ba gañ yin pa ste</i> —244a6)	the last of five un mistaken notions is the notion of loathing (厭惡想—T. 310 no. 13: 324c22)	the last of three un mistaken notions is the notion of <u>emerging</u> (<i>'byuñ ba'i 'du śes</i> —136b3)
explanation of why all activities are suffering	“ <u>In short</u> , as for this body consisting of the five <u>upādāna skandhas</u> ...” (<i>mdor na ñe bar len pa'i phuñ po lña'i lus 'di ni</i> —247a5)	“This body consisting of the five <u>skandhas</u> ...” (此五陰身—T. 310 no. 13: 326a2)	“ <u>In short</u> , the five <u>upādāna skandhas</u> ...” (<i>mdor na ñe bar len pa'i phuñ po lña</i> —141a7)

Here, *Ju-t'ai ching* and Tohoku 57 do not correspond closely to the other three translations, so the most obvious source for Tohoku 58 is Tohoku 6. For example, in the second passage, *Ch'u-t'ai hui* mentions the fetus's thought of weariness, but Chos grub follows Tohoku 6 in saying that it is a thought of emerging. *Ju-t'ai ching* and Tohoku 57

mention neither weariness nor emerging but simply say that the fetus is unhappy.

On the other hand, there are some differences that can only be explained with reference to either *Ju-t'ai ching* or Tohoku 57.

Table 7—Passages in Tohoku 58 that disagree with *Ch'u-t'ai hui* (4)
Differences explainable by the reliance of Tohoku 58 on Tohoku 57 or *Ju-t'ai ching*

	Tohoku 58	<i>Ch'u-t'ai hui</i> (處胎會)	<i>Ju-t'ai ching</i> (入胎經)	Tohoku 57
name of wind, Week 4	<u>Inner Explanation</u> (<i>nañ rab tu byed pa</i>)	Gather and Receive (攝取)	<u>Inner Explanation</u> (內開)	<u>Inner Explanation</u> (<i>nañ rab tu byed pa</i>)
name of worm that lives in the anus	<u>Small Bundle</u> (<i>po ta ra ka</i>) { Sanskrit <i>poṭalaka</i> }	Breast Wrinkles (臆皺)	<u>Small Bundle</u> (小束)	<u>Small Bundle</u> (<i>po ta ra ka</i>) { Sanskrit <i>poṭalaka</i> }

In these cases, Tohoku 6 is quite different and cannot be the source for the differences between Tohoku 58 and *Ch'u-t'ai hui*. For example, in Tohoku 6 the name of the wind in Week 4 is “Drawing Inward,” and the name of the anal worm is, aptly, “Possessing the Rotten.” These are clearly not reflected in any of the other translations. Therefore, rejecting the reading in *Ch'u-t'ai hui*, Chos grub must have based his translation on either Tohoku 57 or *Ju-t'ai ching*.

Tohoku 57

Unsurprisingly, since the texts are longer, there are more differences between Tohoku 57 and *Ju-t'ai ching* than there are between Tohoku 58 and *Ch'u-t'ai hui*. Again, I present several groups of examples.

Table 8—Passages in Tohoku 57 that disagree with *Ju-t'ai ching* (1)
Differences probably explainable by the reliance of Tohoku 57 on Tohoku 6

	Tohoku 57	<i>Ju-t'ai ching</i> (入胎經)	<i>Ch'u-t'ai hui</i> (處胎會)	Tohoku 58	Tohoku 6
name of wind, Week 3	<u>Treasury Opening</u> (<i>mdzod kha</i>)	Sheath Opening (刀鞘口)	<u>Treasury Opening</u> (藏口)	<u>Treasury Opening</u> (<i>mdzod ka</i>)	<u>Treasury Opening</u> (<i>mdzod sgo</i>)

name of wind, Week 17	<u>Yak Face</u> (<i>'bri gdon</i>)	Hair Wipe Mouth (毛拂口)	<u>Yak Face</u> (髦牛面)	<u>Yak Face</u> (<i>'bri gdon</i>)	<u>Yak Face</u> (<i>'bri'i gdon</i>)
Week 21 (simile)	like a plasterer, <u>or</u> a plasterer's <u>pupil</u> , who prepares some mud with which to plaster a wall (<i>dper na žal žal mkhan nam / žal žal mkhan gyi slob mas 'jim pa legs par sbyar nas rtsig nos la žal žal byed pa— 217a7-b1</i>)	like a plasterer, who prepares some mud with which to plaster a wall (譬如泥師先 好調泥泥於 牆壁—T. 310 no. 14: 330a19-12; T. 1451: 255b11-12)	like a plasterer, <u>or</u> a plasterer's <u>pupil</u> , who prepares some mud with which to plaster a wall (譬如泥師及 其弟子。能 善調泥泥諸 牆壁—T. 310 no. 13: 324a22-23)	like a plasterer, <u>or</u> a plasterer's <u>pupil</u> , who prepares some mud with which to plaster a wall (<i>dper na žal žal mkhan nam / žal žal mkhan gyi slob mas 'jim pa legs par sbyar nas rtsig pa rnams la žal žal byed pa— 242b1-2</i>)	like a plasterer, <u>or</u> a plasterer's <u>pupil</u> , who prepares some mud with which to plaster a wall (<i>dga' bo dper na / žal žal mkhan nam / žal žal mkhan gyi slob ma mkhas pa 'jim pa legs par byas pas rtsig pa'i gži la žal žal byed do— 134a2</i>)

These, again, are cases in which the Tibetan translation differs from the Chinese text on which it is supposedly based and agrees with the other Chinese and the two other Tibetan translations. In the first example, we can imagine the underlying Sanskrit, something like *kośamukha*. Here, I-ching understands *kośa* in its meaning of a sheath for a sword. But the translator of Tohoku 57, probably based on Tohoku 6, prefers a translation of the other sense of *kośa*, a storehouse or treasury.

In the following examples, the probability of reliance on Tohoku 6 is even higher.

Table 9—Passages in Tohoku 57 that disagree with *Ju-t'ai ching* (2)
Differences *almost certainly* explainable by the reliance of Tohoku 57 on Tohoku 6

	Tohoku 57	<i>Ju-t'ai ching</i> (入胎經)	Tohoku 6
Week 4 (shape of the fetus)	like a <u>whetstone</u> or <u>millstone</u> (DP: <i>de'i dbyibs ni bdar ram mchi gu 'dra ste</i> —214b6-7 [P 258a4]) [or like a piece of dirt or a millstone (NFS: <i>de'i dbyibs ni boñ pa 'am / mchig gu 'dra ste</i> —N 441b1; F 383a4-5; S 401a4)]	Like a shoe last or warming stone (狀如鞋屨。或如溫石—T. 310 no. 14: 329b3; T. 1451: 254b16-17)	like a <u>whetstone</u> or <u>millstone</u> (<i>gdar ram mchi gu lta bu ste</i> —130a6-7)
Week 27 (results of bad karma)	even if the being, when reborn, has the three karmas of <u>body</u> , <u>speech</u> , and <u>mind</u> , when he tells people, they will not believe or remember what he says (<i>lus dan / ñag dan / yid kyi las ji sñed btsal ba dag gzan la smras na yañ gzan gyis yid mi ches siñ yid la mi 'dzin pa dag mñon 'grub par 'gyur ro</i> —218a5)	even if the being, when reborn, has the three karmas, when he tells people, they will not believe or remember what he says (所有三業向人說時。他不信受不將在意—T. 310 no. 14: 330b13-14; T. 1451: 255c8-9)	whatever little bit he accomplishes in the world through <u>body</u> , <u>speech</u> , and <u>mind</u> , none of it will be delightful or acceptable in the world (<i>des 'jig rten la lus dan ñag dan / yid kyi gan cuñ zad bsgrubs pa de thams cad kyan / 'jig rten la bzun bar 'os pa dan / mñon par dga' bar mi 'gyur ro</i> —135a1)
ten stages of life: stage 1	<u>weak</u> , he lies <u>on his back</u> (<i>dan po ni byis pa'i gnas skabs ste ñam chuñ žiñ gan rkyal du ñal bar byed do</i> —222b5-6)	he lies in swaddling clothes (初謂嬰兒位臥於襁褓—T. 310 no. 14: 332a9; T. 1451: 257b7)	<u>weak</u> , he lies <u>on his back</u> (<i>gnas skabs dan po la ni byis pa dman pa gan rkyal du ñal bar 'gyur ro</i> —140a1-2)
the desirability and difficulty of being reborn as a human	a “good world” refers to birth as a <u>human</u> (<i>bde 'gro'i 'jig rten gan že na / 'di lta ste / de ni mi'i 'gro ba gan yin pa'o</i> —227a7)	a “good world” refers to birth as a human or god (云何世間善趣。謂是人天—T. 310 no. 14: 333b10-12; T. 1451: 258c8-10)	a “good world” of the gods is being born as a <u>human</u> (<i>dga' bo lha rnams kyi bde 'gro'i 'jig rten gan že na / mir skye ba yin te</i> —147b2)

These passages are clear evidence of the agreement of Tohoku 57 with Tohoku 6 rather than *Ju-t'ai ching*. In these cases, Tohoku 58 and *Ch'u-t'ai hui* do not correspond to the other translations. Taking the third passage as an example, we can see that Tohoku 57 could not possibly be translating what is in *Ju-t'ai ching*, while it very closely matches Tohoku 6.

Finally, in some cases the reading in Tohoku 57 can best be explained by reliance on Tohoku 58.

Table 10—Passages in Tohoku 57 that disagree with *Ju-t'ai ching* (3)
Differences probably explainable by the reliance of Tohoku 57 on Tohoku 58

	Tohoku 57	Ju-t'ai ching (入胎經)	Ch'u-t'ai hui (處胎會)	Tohoku 58	Tohoku 6
fault of the womb	the womb is <u>triangular</u> <u>like the joint</u> of a carriage (<i>śiñ rta'i tshigs bžin sogs kar 'dug pa</i> —212a1)	the womb is like a carriage shaft (或如車轆—T. 310 no. 14: 328b7; T. 1451: 253b19)	the womb is like the bent wood of a carriage shaft (或如車轆曲木—T. 310 no. 13: 322b2)	the womb is <u>triangular</u> <u>like the joint</u> of a carriage (<i>śiñ rta'i tshigs pa bžin sogs kar 'dug pa</i> —237b2)	the opening of the womb is like a carriage (<i>sgo śiñ rta lta bu</i> —126a2)
Week 27 (results of bad karma)	the body of the fetus will be <u>ugly</u> and resemble a <i>preta</i> (<i>lus mi sdug ciñ yi dags dan 'dra bas</i> —218a4-5)	the shape of the fetus will resemble a <i>preta</i> (形如餓鬼—T. 310 no. 14: 330b12-13; T. 1451: 255c7-8)	the body of the fetus will be <u>ugly</u> and resemble a <i>preta</i> (其身醜陋猶如餓鬼—T. 310 no. 13: 324b16)	the body of the fetus will be <u>ugly</u> and resemble a <i>preta</i> (<i>lus mi sdug ciñ yi dags dan 'dra ba</i> —243a4)	the fetus will resemble <i>pretas</i> (<i>yi dags rnamś dan 'dra bar 'gyur gyi</i> —134b7)

In the first case, there is no other translation that agrees with Tohoku 57 and Tohoku 58. In the second case, *Ch'u-t'ai hui* agrees with Tohoku 57 and Tohoku 58 against *Ju-t'ai ching* and Tohoku 6. Perhaps this suggests that Tohoku 58 was translated before Tohoku 57.

Conclusion

The textual history of *Garbhāvakrāntisūtra* is very complicated, and the six extant texts are probably only pieces of the whole puzzle. Therefore, any conclusions about the relative age of the different Tibetan translations must remain tentative and subject to revision if new information becomes available.

One thing is definite: the Tibetan translator or translators of *Ch'u-t'ai hui* and *Ju-t'ai ching* must have used other texts of the *sūtra*, either other translations or Sanskrit manuscripts. My own speculation is that Tohoku 6 preceded both Tohoku 58 and Tohoku 57. However, it is difficult to establish the chronological order of Tohoku 58 and Tohoku 57. It seems possible, especially if both translations were indeed the work of Chos grub, that there was two-way contamination, either while the texts were being translated or during the period in which they were being revised and edited. Since the texts were found side-by-side in the Chinese *Ratnakūṭa*, it is very likely that the translator or translators were familiar with the contents of both texts before they finished translating either one.

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Tohoku 58= *Tshe dan ldan pa dga' bo la mñal du 'jug pa bstan pa* (= *Garbhāvakrāntisūtra*). Derge *dkon brtsegs ga* 237a1-248a7; Peking 760 (13) *dkon brtsegs wi* 234a3-248a7; Narthang 44 *dkon brtsegs ga* 408a1-426b6; Phug brag 44 *dkon brtsegs kha* 355b7-369a6; Stog 11 (13) *dkon brtsegs ga* 369a7-388a1.

Sigla for Tibetan editions

D	Derge
N	Narthang
F	Phug brag
P	Peking
S	Stog Palace

Sanskrit text

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